/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The

634 614 591 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane, of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] [616] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 616 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 224 [616] At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal. Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 535 614 616 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage

764 535 824 284

1. The marid'do is a sort of very long, flexible ladder, the rungs of

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF MATTO GROSSO

An Account of Archaeological and Ethnological Field Work at the Headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, During 1931

By Vincent M. Petrullo

THIS account of my field work in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931, is offered to those interested in primitive peoples and especially in South American archaeology and ethnology, with the sole motive of making available source material. The paper is not intended as a critical study of the region with which it deals nor does it purport to be thorough in its treatment of the subjects that it discusses. To my critical readers I plead the fact that I was a novice in the South American field at the time that the material presented was gathered, and that I was among tribes that are either but slightly known or not at all, and that thus my difficulties were those to be met by the first workers. One handicap was lack of interpreters, limiting the field of my investigations to what was physically observable. However, it is intended that the paper give the fundamental setting of the cultures with which I came in contact for any analytical study that may be undertaken in the future.

The work was done under the auspices of the University Museum cooperating with the Matto Grosso Expedition and the Academy of Natural Sciences, whose representative was Mr. James A. G. Rehn.

Both archaeology and ethnology occupied my attention, my project being fundamentally in the nature of a survey of the possibilities that the country offers in both fields of research and to study the field conditions, rather than to bring back a conclusive and thorough study of some particular site or tribe. Though the unlooked-for acquisition of an amphibian airplane by the expedition aroused the hope that a prolonged stay with some tribe could be made, since the usual excessive amount of time spent in reaching the desired village could be saved by flying the distance in a few hours, the ultimate results were what had been originally planned for reasons that will appear in the narrative.

Briefly, my work included the locating of a number of archaeological sites and the partial excavation of two of them; visits to the Bororo da

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowledge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[121] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

• 121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "if he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence--all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.

128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider
the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[596] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After
marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal
extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a
member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by
virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular
names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing
of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may
be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
• 121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and
others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a
female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is
emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent;
where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo
type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equiv-
alence rule, which were required to account for the kinship
system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fra-
ternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of
her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of
her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers"
are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and
their wives.

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
• 121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

114 121 772

time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units involved in the first case exchange dissimilar objects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership) while those in the second case relate through the exchange of similar or equivalent things (women for women). To establish the validity of this deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the contradiction mentioned above requires the exposition of another dimension of Bororo normative order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969: 50).

121 772 There are, however, two other logically possible "principles of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 181 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
483 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
• 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/. Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
• 121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/124 cont./

846 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade,
• 121 the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

• [121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
582 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
591 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
[586] patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them, "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 222

The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians, hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in many she also helps in the construction of the house. But, considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

462 [224]

462 141

[171]

3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/149 cont./

562 114 797 [593] the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man, a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

• 121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

If we want to investigate the importance of the adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with [237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex. [304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the [856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./
273 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
121 reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
262 the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this
753 reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
789 The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
121 in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
113 inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
128 orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.